

Message Text

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ACTION H-01

INFO OCT-01 SS-07 ISO-00 NSC-05 EA-06 /020 W

----- 073827

R 150027Z AUG 75

FM USLO PEKING

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4234

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 PEKING 01540

LIMDIS

FOR EA, S/S, S/P, H, INR, CIA, NSC

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS ALSO TO SCOTT COHEN OR NADINE JACOBSEN
IN SENATOR PERCY'S OFFICE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OREP (PERCY, CHARLES H)

SUBJECT: SENATOR PERCY'S MEMORANDUM OF HIS LUNCHEON

CONVERSATION ON AUGUST 6 WITH VICE PREMIER

TENG HSIAO-PINO

1. THERE FOLLOWS THE FULL TEXT OF THE SUBJECT MEMORANDUM AS
DICTATED BY SENATOR PERCY AND LATER AMENDED ON THE TRANSCRIPT.
A SECTION OF THE TRANSCRIPT CONTAINING PERCY'S OWN THOUGHTS,
AS HE WAS DICTATING, ABOUT PRC ATTITUDES TOWARD THE
SUMMIT IS BEING FORWARDED BY SEPTTEL

2. BEGIN TEXT, THE FOLLOWING IS A SUMMARY, VERBATIM TO
THE BEST OF MY RECOLLECTION, OF A PRIVATE CONVERSATION
BETWEEN VICE PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PINO AND SENATOR PERCY
AT LUNCH 8-6-75 GIVEN BY THE VICE PREMIER. AMBASSADOR
BUSH OR HIS REPRESENTATIVE TOOK PART IN ALL OUR MEETINGS
AT OUR REQUEST. SHOULD CHOU EN-LAI DIE OR RETIRE IN THE
NEAR FUTURE TENG, AS NUMBER THREE IN THE CHINESE
HIERARCHY, WOULD SUCCEED; AND BECAUSE OF THE AGE OF
MAO AND THE ILLNESS OF CHOU EN-LAI, IS NOW CLEARLY
CONCEDED TO BE THE MAN RUNNING CHINA, BOTH ITS INTERNAL
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AND ITS EXTERNAL AFFAIRS. HE IS REPUTED TO BE A TOUGH,

ENERGETIC POLITICAL ADMINISTRATOR. DURING LUNCH WE
DISCUSSED THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

PERCH: "HOW IMPORTANT DOES YOUR GOVERNMENT CONSIDER
PRESIDENT FORD'S FORTHCOMING VISIT TO CHINA THIS FALL?
DO THEY LOOK UPON IT AS A SUBSTANTIVE TRIP OR MORE SYM-
BOLIC IN NATURE? IS IT AN ESSENTIAL TRIP IN THEIR JUDGMENT?"
VICE PREMIER: WE HAVE MADE NO SUCH ASSESSMENT, BUT
WE WILL WARMLY WELCOME PRESIDENT FORD WHEN HE COMES
THIS YEAR. THE AGENDA WILL BE UP TO HIM."

PERCY: "HOW IMPORTANT IS THE PRESENCE OF UNITED STATES TROOPS
IN EUROPE AND HOW IMPORTANT IS A STRONG NATO TO THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA?"

VICE PREMIER: "EVEN THOUGH WE GENERALLY BELIEVE IN A
POLICY OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE AFFAIRS OF ANOTHER COUNTRY,
WE TAKE NO EXCEPTION TO THE PRESENCE OF UNITED STATES
TROOPS IN EUROPE. THE SIZE OF AMERICAN FORCES WOULD
HAVE TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT CONDITIONS THERE. WE LOOK
WITH DISFAVOR UPON THE EUROPEAN SECURITY CONNERENCE."
PERCY: "WHILE I WAS RECENTLY IN THE SOVIET UNION, WE
PRESSED GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV AND OTHER LEADING
OFFICIALS IN THE KREMLIN VERY HARD ON THE QUESTION OF
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE. FOR INSTANCE, WE POINTED OUT THAT

THE SOVIET UNION IN THE UNITED NATIONS HAS CALLED FOR AN
ACROSS-THE-BOARD 10 PERCENT CUT IN DEFENSE EXPENDITURE
BY NATIONS IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL, BUT WE HAVE RETALIATED
BY ASKING THE QUESTION, '10 PERCENT OF WHAT?' WE PUBLISH
ACCURATE FIGURES ON OUR DEFENSE EXPENDITURES. WE ESTIMATE
THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS SPENDING MORE THAN WE DO,
NAMELY APPROXIMATELY \$115 BILLION THIS YEAR (IN CONTRAST
TO ITS PUBLISHED FIGURE OF \$25 BILLION) AND THAT IT IS SPENDING
AT AN INCREASING RATE EACH YEAR, AND AT A FAR HIGHER
RATE THAN WE IN PROPORTION TO GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT.
IN CONTRAST, CHINA HAS REDUCED ITS RELATIVE DEFENSE
EXPENDITURES AND THE UNITED STATES, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT
INFLATION SPENDS LESS TODAY ON DEFENSE THEN IT DID FOUR
YEARS AGO. I WOULD BE INTERESTED IN KNOWING, FOR
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INSTANCE, HOW MANY SOVIET TROOPS ARE DEPLOYED ALONG THE
4000 MILE SINO-SOVIET BORDER AND, IF IT IS NOT A CLASSIFIED
PIECE OF INFORMATION, HOW MANY CHINESE FORCES ARE ON
THE SAME BORDER TO DEFEND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA."

VICE PREMIER: "THERE ARE ONE MILLION SOVIET FORCES
ON THE SINO-SOVIET BORDER.
WITH RESPECT TO CHINESE FORCES,

THERE ARE NOT ANYWHERE NEAR THIS NUMBER AS WE DO NOT NEED THAT MANY THERE TO DEFEND OUR BORDER. WE COULD DETERMINE QUICKLY IF THE SOVIETS HAD ANY AGGRESSIVE TENDENCIES TOWARD US AND WE WOULD HAVE AMPTE RESERVES THAT COULD BE MOVED TO THE BORDER QUICKLY."

PERCY: "IT IS NOT ALWAYS POSSIBLE TO DETECT THE INTENTIONS OF A NATION. TAKE, FOR INSTANCE, THE CONDITIONS THAT EXISTED PRE-PEARL HARBOR. WE WERE UNAWARE THAT THE JAPANESE WERE GOING TO MAKE A STRIKE AGAINST PEARL HARBOR AND WAGE WAR AGAINST THE UNITED STATES."

VICE PREMIER: "THE UNITED STATES INTELLIGENCE WAS NOT ADEQUATE AT THAT TIME. UNDER TODAY'S CONDITIONS, A NATION SHOULD BE ABLE TO DETERMINE WHAT WILL BE HAPPENING."

PERCY: "I SUPPOSE THAT IS CORRECT, PARTICULARLY TAKING INTO ACCOUNT SATELLITE RECONNAISSANCE. OUR ASTRONAUTS TELL US THAT THE ONLY MAN-MADE OBJECT THEY ARE ABLE TO SEE FROM EITHER THE MOON OR FROM OUTER SPACE IS THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA."

VICE PREMIER: "I HAVE HEARD THIS SAME THING MYSELF AND IT IS QUITE REMARKABLE."

AT THIS POINT MRS. PERCY LEANED OVER AND ASKED A QUESTION.

MRS. PERCY: "HOW MUCH DOES THE MID-EAST CONCERN CHINA? DOES CHINA THINK THAT IT CAN BECOME A POINT OF CONFLICT BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES, AND IS

IT A POINT OF POTENTIAL NEAR WAR AND IMMINENT DANGER?"

VICE PREMIER: "CHINA DOES NOT UNDERSTAND U.S. POLICY
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IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THERE IS A GRAVE DANGER THAT A CONFLICT WITH THE SOVIET UNION COULD ERUPT. THE UNITED STATES MUST SIMPLY TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE ARITHMETIC OF THE SITUATION. IT IS ALIGNED WITH THREE MILLION ISRAELIS AGAINST 120 MILLION ARABS. THE UNITED STATES IS IN A VERY BAD POSITION. CHINA SUPPORTS THE ARAB POSITION OF OCTOBER 1973."

PERCY: "BUT THIS WAS AN OVERT WAR OF AGGRESSION BY THE ARABS."

VICE PREMIER: "IT IS MANY TIMES HARD TO TELL WHO STARTS WHAT. AFTER ALL, THE SIX DAY WAR WAS CLEARLY STARTED BY ISRAEL."

PERCY: "I FEEL CERTAIN IT IS UNNECESSARY FOR ME TO

REITERATE THE UNITED STATES POSITION IN THE MATTER OF THE MIDDLE EAST. WE ARE EXERTING EVERY EFFORT TO PREVENT IT BECOMING A POINT OF DIRECT CONFRONTATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION. BUT WE STAND FOUR SQUARE BEHIND THREE PRINCIPLES; FIRST, THE FACT THAT LEADERS OF THE ARAB WORLD MUST RECOGNIZE THE SOVEREIGNTY AND RIGHT TO EXIST AND NATIONALITY OF ISRAEL; SECOND, THAT IT MUST RESPECT THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND ESSENTIALLY THE BORDERS ESTABLISHED FOR ISRAEL IN 1967 WITH SOME ADJUSTMENTS AND MODIFICATION; THIRD, THAT IT MUST RECOGNIZE THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL AND ALL THE PEOPLE OF THE MID-EAST TO LIVE IN PEACE AND SECURITY. SPEAKING AS ONE SENATOR, I BELIEVE IT IS NECESSARY FOR ISRAEL TO GO

BACK ESSENTIALLY TO THE 1967 BORDERS UNDER THE PROPER SET OF CIRCUMSTANCES AND ASSURANCES AND I BELIEVE, ALSO, THERE WILL BE NO PEACE IN THE MID-EAST UNTIL A PALESTINIAN STATE AND HOMELAND IS ESTABLISHED ON THE WEST BANK AND THE GAZA STRIP."

VICE PREMIER: "I CONCUR."

PERCY: "WE MUST CONSTANTLY BE ON GUARD TO PREVENT THE ACTIONS OF THIRD PARTIES FROM DISRUPTING NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES. ONE OF THE MOST GRAVE CONDITIONS COULD BE CREATED BY NORTH KOREA. WE WOULD COMPARE
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IT WITH THE GRAVITY OF THE SOVIET UNION INVADING WEST GERMANY. THERE IS NO DOUBT NATO WOULD DECLARE WAR ON THE SOVIET UNION IN THAT CASE AND THE UNITED STATES WOULD FULLY BACK IT WITH MILITARY MIGHT AND FORCES. SHOULD NORTH KOREA ENGAGE IN AN ADVENTURE AND WERE KIM TO UNDERTAKE AN INVASION OF THE SOUTH, THE UNITED STATES BY TREATY WOULD HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE THAN TO SUPPORT AND BACK SOUTH KOREA. HOWEVER, SHOULD PARK DECIDE TO INVADE NORTH KOREA, OUR SUPPORT FOR SUCH AN EFFORT IN MY JUDGMENT WOULD CEASE IMMEDIATELY, WE WOULD WITHDRAW OUR TROOPS AND ALL MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND EXERT THE GREATEST PRESSURE

UPON PARK TO "CEASE AND DESIST" AND HE KNOWS THIS.

OUR POLICY IN THE REGARD IS VERY CLEAR AND UNEQUIVOCAL AND WE COULD NOT CONCEIVE OF HIM UNDERTAKING SUCH AN ADVENTURE. BUT DOES KIM HAVE AS CLEARLY A DESIGNED POLICY FROM HIS ALLIES? FOR INSTANCE, WHAT RECEPTION WAS GIVEN TO KIM WHEN HE CAME TO CHINA LAST APRIL?

WAS HE RECEIVED BY MAO, BY CHOU EN-LAI AND BY

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED ABOVE ADDRESSEE.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 PEKING 1540

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THE VICE-PREMIER?"

VICE PREMIER: "YES, HE WAS, BUT IN OUR JUDGMENT ONLY PARK WOULD START A WAR. KIM'S POLICY IS THAT KOREA SHOULD BE UNIFIED AND SHOULD HAVE PEACE AND THIS IS THE POLICY THAT WE SUPPORT."

PERCY: "BUT HOW DOES KIM EXPLAIN THE UNDERGROUND TUNNELING THAT HE IS DOING UNDER THE DEMARCATION LINE? I WAS AT THE DEMARCATION LINE IN THE FALL OF 1973 AND THE SITUATION THERE IS VERY TENSE. NORTH KOREA CONTINUES TO BUILD A GREAT MANY AIRFIELDS, PRIMARILY IN THE SOUTHERN SECTION OF NORTH KOREA AND ATTACK PLANES ARE FURNISHED BY BOTH CHINA AND THE USSR."

VICE PREMIER: "WE HAVE NO INFORMATION ON THIS. FROM WHAT WE KNOW, PARK HAS TUNNELED UNDER THE DEMARCATION LINE HIMSELF. THE KOREAN PEOPLE MUST THEMSELVES SETTLE THIS MATTER."

PERCY: "THERE ARE TWO GERMANIES IN EUROPE THAT HAVE LEARNED TO COEXIST FOR MANY YEARS. BUT FIRMNESS WAS NECESSARY TO PRESERVE PEACE. HAS CHINA MADE IT EMINENTLY CLEAR TO KIM THAT, IN THE EVENT OF AGGRESSION TO THE SOUTH, IT WILL NOT SUSTAIN ITS EFFORT AND DOES IT HAVE ANY CONCERN THAT THE SOVIET UNION WILL OPEN UP ITS SUPPLY LINE TO NORTH KOREA IF IT ENGAGES IN SUCH AN ADVENTURE?"

VICE PREMIER: "SOUTH KOREA HAS A MUCH STRONGER MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT THAN NORTH KOREA, IT HAS FAR

MORE WEAPONS. THE UNDERGROUND SUPPOSEDLY BUILT BY
THE NORTH KOREANS IS A MYTH. WE BELIEVE WHAT THE
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NORTH KOREAN GOVERNMENT SAYS IS TRUE. OUR POLICY IS
QUITE DEFINITE, 'NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE AFFAIRS OF OTHER
COUNTRIES.' WE HAVE NO TROOPS IN NORTH KOREA AND YOU
HAVE IN SOUTH KOREA. IN 1950 WE WARNED THAT WE WOULD
SEND TROOPS IN AND WE DID. BUT WE WITHDREW OUR TROOPS
AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE AND LEFT IN NORTH KOREA ONLY
SUFFICIENT CHINESE TO REBUILD THE KOREAN COUNTRY FROM
THE DAMAGE INFLICTED UPON IT LEFT BY THE WAR."

PERCY: "CANNOT YOU VISUALIZE TWO KOREAS IN THE UNITED
NATIONS, BOTH

NORTH AND SOUTH LIVING TOGETHER IN A STATE
OF ACCOMMODATION VERY MUCH AS EAST GERMANY AND WEST
GERMANY HAVE LEARNED TO LIVE TOGETHER AND THUS ADJUST
TO NEW CONDITIONS?"

VICE PREMIER: "NEVER* I CANNOT ENVISION THIS HAPPENING.
WE SUPPORT THE POSITION THAT KOREA MUST BE UNIFIED."

PERCY: "WITH RESPECT TO THE UNITED NATIONS, AS YOU
MIGHT KNOW, MRS. PERCY'S BROTHER, DAVID GUYER,
SERVED AS ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT TO BOTH AMBASSADOR
ADLAI STEVENSON AND AMBASSADOR CABOT LODGE DURING
THEIR TENURE OF OFFICE AS PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE
FOR THE UNITED STATES AT THE UNITED NATIONS. HE FIRMLY
BELIEVED AT THE TIME AND HAS LONG HELD THIS BELIEF, AS
MOST OF US HAVE, THAT IT WAS UNREALISTIC TO ISOLATE A
NATION OF 800 MILLION PEOPLE FROM THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY OF NATIONS AND I, OF COURSE, WAS PLEASED
AT THE BREAKTHROUGH. AS A MATTER OF FACT, THIS BECAME
A CAMPAIGN ISSUE WHEN I RAN FOR THE UNITED STATES SENATE
AGAINST INCUMBENT SENATOR PAUL DOUGLAS OF ILLINOIS IN 1966.
PAUL DOUGLAS WAS ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL FOUNDERS OF AN
ORGANIZATION THAT YOU MIGHT WELL KNOW, 'A MILLION
AMERICANS TO KEEP CHINA OUT OF THE UNITED NATIONS'.
(THE VICE-PREMIER NODDED IN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE
FACT THAT HE KNEW WELL OF THE ORGANIZATION.) IT
HAD BEEN A CAMPAIGN ISSUE AND I BECAME CONVINCED
THAT, PRESENTED WITH LOGICAL FACTS, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
WOULD COME TO THE POINT OF RECOGNIZING THE DESIRABILITY
OF HAVING CHINA ENTER THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE INTERESTS
OF WORLD PEACE." I THEN QUESTIONED THE VICE PREMIER,
HOWEVER, AS TO WHETHER A PEACEFUL SOLUTION COULD BE
FOUND TO THE TAIWAN ISSUE.

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"THE U.S. VISUALIZES SOME UNITED STATES TROOP
WITHDRAWAL FROM TAIWAN (GAP) BUT IN MY JUDGMENT WE
ARE DETERMINED THAT THERE SHALL NOT BE A MILITARY
CONFLICT IN THE AREA, AND THAT THIS MATTER SHALL BE SETTLED
NOT BY FORCE OF ARMS, BUT BY PEACEFUL MEANS. HOW
DOES THE VICE PREMIER VIEW THIS MATTER?"
VICE PREMIER: "WHETHER IT IS SETTLED BY PEACEFUL MEANS
OR OTHERWISE IS UP TO CHINA FOR THE MATTER OF TAIWAN
IS AN INTERNAL AFFAIR."

PERCY: "IN THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE WE ACKNOWLEDGED
(SIC) THE FACT THAT THERE IS BUT ONE CHINA AND THAT
THIS A MATTER OF INTERNAL POLITICS, BUT WE ALSO
FEEL THAT PEACEFUL MEANS SHOULD BE USED TO SETTLE
THE MATTER."

VICE PERMIER: "UNITED STATES TROOPS SHOULD BE WITHDRAWN
FROM TAIWAN. BUT CHINA IS NOT PRESSING THE UNITED STATES
ON THIS POINT. THE PATTERN FOLLOWED BY JAPAN OFFERS
SOME GUIDANCE. THERE ARE THREE CARDINAL PRINCIPLES THAT
SHOULD BE FOLLOWED. ONE, AN ANNULMENT OF THE JOINT
DEFENSE TREATY THE UNITED STATES HAS WITH TAIWAN.
TWO, THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL UNITED STATES TROOPS.
THREE, THE BREAKUP OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH
TAIWAN.

"WITH RESPECT TO A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT, THIS IS
AN INTERNAL AFFAIR AND THIS MEANS THAT THE SOLUTION IS UP
TO US AND WE CAN REALLY MAKE NO COMMITMENT."

PERCY: "AS CHINA KNOWS, THERE IS A STRONG VESTIGE OF
THE OLD SO-CALLED 'CHINA LOBBY' IN THE UNITED STATES
AND IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IN REDUCING THE EFFECTIVENESS
OF THIS LOBBY IF PLEDGES COULD BE MADE THAT A PEACEFUL
SOLUTION WILL BE FOUND TO THE PROBLEM OF TAIWAN."

VICE PERMIER: "THIS IS NO REQUIRED AGENDA ITEM SO FAR
AS WE
ARE CONCERNED. IT IS UP TO PRESIDENT FORD TO
DECIDE WHAT POSITION TO TAKE ON THIS MATTER WHEN HE COMES.)
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HE IS WELCOME AND WE WILL BE GLAD TO HAVE HIM VISIT US.
WE CAN'T MAKE A COMMITMENT, HOWEVER, AT THIS TIME WITH
RESPECT TO TAIWAN."
ADDENDUM: IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE THAT A MALE SECRETARY
WAS SEATED SO THAT HE COULD HEAR THE VICE PREMIER AS WELL
AS THE TRANSLATOR WHO WAS SEATED IMMEDIATELY TO MY

RIGHT. THE TRANSLATOR SPOKE IN A RATHER LOUD VOICE AND SHE AT ONE POINT SAID TO ME THAT THE VICE PREMIER IS A SOMEWHAT HARD OF HEARING AND THIS IS WHY SHE WAS SPEAKING LOUDLY. I TOLD HER THAT I APPRECIATED IT MYSELF AS I WAS SOMEWHAT HARD OF HEARING, BUT I TOLD THE VICE PREMIER THAT I FOUND IT HELPED WHEN I WORE A HEARING AID, PARTICULARLY CONSIDERING THAT PEOPLE WOULD SPEAK MORE LOUDLY TO ME. HE SAID HE HAD A HEARING AID, BUT THAT IT DIDN'T SEEM TO HELP, BUT HE THOUGHT THIS WAS POSSIBLY A GOOD PSYCHOLOGICAL IDEA. I THEN TOLD HIM OF THE THEORY OF DR. SHAMBAL, NAMELY, THAT PEOPLE BECAME HARD OF HEARING LATER IN LIFE BECAUSE OF THE SOFTENING OF THE INNER EAR BONE AND HE PRESCRIBED CALCIUM AND FLOURIDE TABLETS TO BUILD THIS BONE BACK. THE VICE PREMIER SEEMED MOST INTERESTED IN THIS APPROACH AND I PROMISED TO SEND HIM SOME INFORMATION. I SUGGESTED THAT WE BOTH POSSIBLY SHOULD TAKE ACUPUNTURE TOGETHER TO SEE IF IT WOULD HELP. THE LUNCHEON WAS A MOST PLEASANT AFFAIR, THERE WERE NO SPEECHES BUT I INTRODUCED PAUL FINDLEY SO THAT HE COULD PRESENT A BUST OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN TO THE VICE PREMIER.

BUSH

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLICIES, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, POLITICAL SITUATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 15 AUG 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975PEKING01540
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750282-0046
From: PEKING
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750848/aaaabqfz.tel
Line Count: 408
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION H
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 8
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09 JUL 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <09 JUL 2003 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <10 JUL 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SENATOR PERCY'S MEMORANDUM OF HIS LUNCHEON CONVERSATION ON AUGUST 6 WITH VICE PREMIER
TAGS: OREP, PFOR, US, CH, XX, (PERCY, CHARLES H), (TENG HSIAO-PINO)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006